



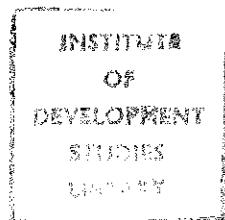
QUALITY OF LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA
—TOWARDS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE
ASSESSMENT OF QUALITY OF LIFE
AND BASIC NEEDS

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Lawrence Schlemmer

Revised version of paper presented at the WORKSHOP for QUALITY

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Abstract.

Conducting comparative quality of life research in a socio-economically and socio-politically divided society such as South Africa is methodologically challenging and worthwhile in that it provides a means for evaluating subtle social changes taking place. This is demonstrated on the basis of a study of perceptions of well-being involving white, Indian and black residents of Durban, South Africa. Survey findings generally reflected the differential social circumstances of the three groups represented in the sample, in particular it highlighted the materially underprivileged situation of blacks in comparison to the other groups. Drawing upon the experience gained in the study, the rationale is given for developing a research instrument for measuring comparative qualities of life at the national level.

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1.

Quality of life studies have an immediate and obvious significance in South Africa. In a society of marked social contrasts, not only as defined by material differences between groups, but also as regards cultural meanings and socio-political perspectives, systematic attempts through research to describe and quantify the depth and patterning of social cleavages are of manifest importance. Since South Africa is also a system undergoing complex and subtle changes, if not in legislation at least in aspects of material circumstances and in public reactions to its structures, there is a particular need for a research approach which can identify the interaction between objective circumstances and subjective responses. Quality of life studies appear to be highly appropriate as a means of assisting in the full understanding of present processes and future possibilities.

Seen superficially, quality of life is a deceptively simple concept. Everyone - social scientists, journalists, politicians and the man in the street can tell you broadly what it means. At this level it is simply the degree of well-being experienced by individuals or aggregates of people under prevailing social and economic conditions.

This is sufficient as a broad guiding definition. We believe that a more precise definition is impossible at this stage, simply because precision requires a specification of the dimensions of life which are most relevant to overall well-being. Conceptually, all one may say in this regard is that the dimensions are complex and variable from community to community. Therefore, a more precise definition has to be specific to the social group being considered and cannot be stated in more universal terms until many more comparative research findings are available.¹⁾ Once past the problem

1) Many researchers do not attempt to define the essence of the quality of life concept and settle for a working definition instead. By contrast, much effort has been expended on defining the criteria associated with the measurement of quality of life.

of definition, however, a host of difficulties and questions arise: These difficulties make it worth discussion in fair detail. Furthermore, questions which one may ask about it relate to some of the central issues in South African society. Because of its relevance to the ongoing debate about change, a need may be said to exist for repeat studies and longitudinal studies as one means of monitoring shifts in socio-economic and socio-political conditions. In this context an instrument with a sufficient degree of standardisation to allow time-comparisons and inter-group comparisons may have utility. This paper is a broad attempt in this direction, set against a brief background discussion and an assessment of some baseline data for the Durban area.

1. How is it measured?¹⁾

The following ways of measuring or assessing quality of life are employed or can be posited:

1.1 Objective social indicators²⁾

These are measures, usually related to social groups in society,

- 1) The approaches developed in the course of the short history of social accounting vary from simple statistical compendia to comprehensive analytical frameworks (an example of the latter is the systematic approach devised by Ellis (1980)). At this point it is particularly important to note that the object of measurement ('what' is being measured) will largely determine which research approach ('how' something is measured) is chosen.
- 2) In this paper the concepts 'social indicator' and 'socio-economic indicator' are used interchangeably. The designation 'social indicator' was first introduced by the social scientists attached to the so-called social indicator movement as a distinction to the conventional 'economic indicator', which they sought to complement and replace with a more balanced set of social statistics. Some scholars and practitioners in the field of social accounting prefer to speak more correctly of 'socio-economic' indicators. They reason that social indicators can assume economic significance, whilst economic variables may also be indicative of social conditions. (cf. Drewnowski, 1974; UNESCO, 1976.)

of characteristics¹⁾ like income, life-expectancy, disease rates, housing standards, available educational facilities, and the like. Great practical difficulties can arise in gaining adequate information on which to base such indices, but once arrived at, they are usually fairly obvious in the way they can or should relate to aggregate or group well-being. A firm definition is provided in the footnote.²⁾ Social measures are typically disaggregated or broken down into their relevant component parts along the lines of socio-economic status or class designations, age, sex, and racial or ethnic groupings and so forth. Richer people are assumed to experience greater well-being than the poor, sick people are obviously less happy than the healthy, and educated people are assumed to enjoy a greater sense of achievement than the less well educated. A sub-type of the social indicator approach is the so-called territorial indicators in which the descriptions apply not so much to groups as to geographic regions.³⁾

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- 1) Seen superficially, social indicators are indistinguishable from social statistics. It is only the use to which a particular statistic is put; the manner in which it is assessed, interpreted, and related to personal and social well-being, which characterises the social indicator from its "lookalike". (cf. Horn, 1978.)
 - 2) One of the most frequently quoted definitions of the social indicator is quite clear on this point: "A social indicator, ... may be defined to be a statistic of direct normative interest which facilitates concise, comprehensive and balanced judgements about the condition of major aspects of a society. It is in all cases a direct measure of welfare and is subject to the interpretation that, if it changes in the "right" direction, while other things remain equal, things have gotten better, or people are "better off". (United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969, p. 97.)
 - 3) Territorial indicators are particularly useful in identifying regional disparities in welfare. In more developed countries these measurements will pinpoint enclaves of poverty in vast areas of plenty. In materially less developed countries we are more likely to find that a three-dimensional projection of welfare highlights urban peaks of affluence in a plain of poverty. In the case of South Africa, racial and spatial dimensions of welfare are by and large congruent, a situation which has led Smith (1977, pp. 241-263) to speak of 'race-space' disparities or inequalities.

Some years ago, however, social scientists started doubting that the more common indices necessarily reflected or implied differential experience of well-being. Were richer people really happier than poor people to a degree that wealth differentials would suggest? Particularly in affluent societies it began to be felt that the experience of well-being was a much more complex phenomenon than material privilege. A broader quality of life was seen as perhaps being a more appropriate stratifier of people than the more established and conventional features class and social status in wealthier societies.

These considerations led to the emergence of the so-called Quality of Life studies. The differentiating feature was that such studies would not be based on, or not only be based on objective indicators, but would also introduce subjective elements.¹⁾

1) It is noteworthy that the social indicator researchers who did not abandon the 'objective' measures of well-being during this period, nevertheless called for a new set of criteria for developing 'objective' measures which would enable them to measure directly and hence more precisely the impact which societal inputs were making on individual well-being. It was stipulated among other things that social conditions were to be assessed - wherever possible - in non-monetary terms and at the 'output' rather than the 'input', i.e. at the recipient side of development systems. From this point of view, the indicator of the type "School places available per child of school-going age" is preferable to "Government expenditure on educational facilities per capita". (cf. Rao, 1976; Drewnowski, 1974.)

1.2 Subjective social indicators or Quality of Life studies.¹⁾

Such studies can either be qualitative or quantitative.

Qualitative. Here the approach would be to obtain open, free-flowing and unstructured accounts from people about the quality of their lives. Wide-ranging depth interviews or even group depth techniques may be employed and results can be poignant and telling. A problem is that such accounts are so varied and can differ so significantly in depth from person to person or group to group that comparisons between groups and over time are made impossible.

Quantitative. Here subjective feelings and reactions to the quality of life are measured and quantified either by rudimentary scaling of reactions (e.g. very satisfied/satisfied/uncertainty/dissatisfied/very dissatisfied) or by classification of responses on the basis of choices between alternative answers.²⁾ Results can be subjected to more sophisticated measurement and certainly are often given fairly sophisticated statistical treatment after the data have been gathered.

1) To our knowledge the distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' indicators was first popularised by Sheldon and Land (1972) in their review statement 'Social Reporting for the 1970's'. Sheldon and Land distinguish between two dimensions of life: objective conditions of society and persons (e.g. conditions of the environment including concern with housing, pollution, recreational resources, and personal attributes such as health, educational achievement, family stability, etc.) and subjective perceptions of life experiences such as frustrations, satisfactions, aspirations and perceptions. According to Sheldon and Land, social well-being depends jointly on the interplay between these two dimensions although correlations may not be very high.

Writing more recently, Andrews and Withey (1976, p. 5) wish to play down the division between subjective and objective indicators. They argue that objective indicators involve subjective judgements and conversely many subjective indicators provide rather direct and therefore 'objective' measurements of what they intend to measure.

2) This is essentially the technique used in so-called 'direct' assessments of quality of life. Subjects are required to indicate preferences for different 'qualities of life' e.g. career-living situations or the like. (E.g. Dalkey *et.al.*, 1972; Katzner, 1979.)

The quantification of the results does not make them any less subjective or feeling-based. It does not make of them objective indices.¹⁾ The quantification may reduce the richness of data and remove many interesting nuances but it retains its essentially subjective content.²⁾ However, the results can be sufficiently standard to allow comparisons between groups over time.

An example of such studies is the research which we have undertaken in Durban. On the basis of previous studies using essentially unstructured or open-ended methods, (inter alia, BBDO, 1976; Møller *et al.*, 1978) a wide range of statements was generated denoting aspects of the various domains in which quality of life is relevant (family life, work life, political life, economic life, etc.). By making the statements as far as possible utterly comprehensive and by basing them on unstructured studies, dangers of distorting or biasing the distribution of aspects was avoided as far as possible. A method was devised to allow the samples of respondents selected to eliminate the statements (aspects) of lesser relevance in their lives, reducing the final range to thirty or forty aspects which respondents themselves considered to be critical in their existence. For each of these, as well as a small

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- 1) A very clear-cut division between the subjective and objective mode of perception is made in the *United Nations* (1975) report 'Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics': "social indicators have been described as constructs, based on observations and usually qualitative, which tell us something about an aspect of social life in which we are interested in or about changes that are taking place in it. Such information may be objective in the sense that it purports to show what the position is or how it is changing; or it may be subjective in the sense that it purports to show how the objective position or changes in it are regarded by the community in general or by different constituent groups." (Emphasis not in original.)
 - 2) One of the most difficult tasks which quality of life researchers must undertake is to prepare stimuli which are sufficiently realistic to ensure a valid assessment on the part of the subject-judge, and which are at the same time inclusive of the most salient aspects of life conditions.

range of issues covering more subtle aspects of people's lives which they would not necessarily recognise overtly to be relevant, a rating of degree of satisfaction was obtained. The issues thus emerging differed for blacks, Indians and whites in our study with some significant overlap, however. The extent of overlap made it possible to compare groups with one another on degree of domain satisfaction as well as on choice of relevant aspects.

In addition to the statements relating to aspects of life domains, certain criterion statements were also included, covering essentially factors important to satisfaction across a variety of domains (examples would be freedom of choice in life, participation in decision-making, ability to achieve goals, etc.).¹⁾

- 1.3 Public mood and opinion polling. Such research comes close to the subjectively-based studies of the quality of life, except that the issues chosen are extremely general.²⁾ (How satisfied people are with life at present/with the economic situation/with leadership/with public services/with the way people are treated by government, etc.). These data can provide short-cut but broad indicators to the subjective quality of life in a community or society.

1) In making a distinction between indicators occurring at varying levels of specificity, we are following Andrews and Withey (1976, pp. 11-12). According to Andrews and Withey, domain-type indicators refer mainly to satisfaction with places, things, activities, people and roles, all of which are frequently represented in social institutions and agencies. Criterion-type indicators, on the other hand, are the means of judging what the various domains of life afford, e.g. they are values, standards, aspirations, goals, etc.

2) The so-called 'happiness surveys' undertaken by Gurin and colleagues (1960) and Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965), to assess global well-being were the forerunners of the later in-depth studies of psychological well-being. The latter were conducted among others by Campbell and co-workers (1976), who also experimented with the use of affective mood indicators in measuring contentment in more specific domains and spheres of life.

- 1.4 Basic needs research. Whereas most of the input into quality of life research procedures has come from interest in developed societies, a new emphasis has sprung from concerns about conditions in less-developed countries.

In recent years the 'basic needs approach' to development has set a more or less consistent set of criteria for what needs to be done to improve the development status of third world societies.¹⁾ In effect, development for people and improvements in the quality of life in poorer societies are largely synonymous. Therefore research into basic needs like nutrition, health, shelter, clean water, transport, schooling has added precision to quality of life studies as they do or may apply to poorer societies.

Hence we can assume that quality of life research in its broadest sense involves or should try to involve hard objective indicators, assessments of objective basic needs, subjective responses to life in general or in its various domains and very broad mood reactions to contemporary life.

Looking at this range one can immediately suggest ways in which quality of life research can be broadened even further.

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- 1) One might suggest that Drewnowski's (1974) first attempt at compiling comprehensive measures of well-being set the stage for universally applicable development programmes aimed at raising the level of living of the world's poorer people. Later the 'basic needs' approach to development succeeded in attracting a larger following of policy-makers as well as social scientists. Generally, development targets in the basic needs strategy fall into two separate but complementary need categories:
- 1) Personal consumption needs such as food, shelter, and clothing, etc.; and
 - 2) Essential public services such as health, sanitation, clean water, education, transport, and cultural facilities. (cf. Streeton, 1977; Lisk, 1977; Ghai *et al.*, 1977; and International Labour Office, 1977.)

The prospects of adopting a basic needs strategy in the South African situation are discussed among others by Nattrass (1979) and Simkins (1980).

Useful additions to the range of ways of assessing quality of life could be studies of public morale, studies of stress and studies of the symptoms in society of breakdowns in the coherence of social processes like crime and violence, suicide, divorce, etc. Race discrimination and inter-group conflict could also perhaps be added to the list.

The need for subjective judgement is cardinal in order to retain the initial emphasis on social well-being, otherwise quality of life research could become simply another term for all descriptive-evaluative studies of societies or communities. As will be seen from what follows, the subjective element is central in quality of life research and must always be retained.

2. What does quality of life mean?

This question is much more difficult to answer than the problems of measurement. In one sense quality of life is self-explanatory, as are its synonyms - life satisfaction, happiness, need satisfaction or social well-being. One immediately recognises the possibility of contradictory elements. These contradictions are well-represented in popular assessments. Ordinary people will talk of a contented and happy man of poor and barely adequate means in contrast to the possibility of a rich but stressed and worried executive. A contented subordinate can be contrasted with the possibility of an insecure and threatened leader. Quality of life is certainly not a phenomenon based on consistent linear progressions up all of its many dimensions. There is also little agreement on absolutes,¹⁾ and on zero points²⁾ and saturation

1) In this connection it is perhaps interesting to note that the 'absolute' indicators distinguished by Kamrany and Christakis (1970) refer only to those categories of 'scientific' indexes for which a substantial agreement among experts has been reached. In other words normative judgements are always involved in determining scale values in quality of life measurements.

2) With the possible exception of a lower-level threshold described as a 'zero-level', or 'survival with nil need satisfaction' by Drewnowski (1974) which is associated with a sub-human level of existence. By contrast, a 'human' but minimum level of need satisfaction is only guaranteed when 'basic needs' are met.

thresholds.¹⁾

What is important to bear in mind is that, inasmuch as objective indicators of material welfare and objective indicators of need satisfaction are all relative and subject to judgement, the subjective element of quality of life allows us to begin approximating a standard of evaluation - what people themselves feel. If people are unhappy and feel dissatisfied, then no matter what the objective or hard indicators tell us, they have not achieved what people in this world should have the right to achieve. The subjective component, therefore, is essential and does begin to offer a benchmark.²⁾

Problems arise immediately from the social sciences themselves. Some social scientists will tell us that no matter how happy or satisfied a worker is, if his product exceeds his reward then he is exploited. If he has little control over the productive process he is alienated, even if he does not want responsibility in the productive process. Our social scientist will simply say that his well-being arises out of false consciousness. From the other side of the ideological spectrum an equally convinced social scientist will say that no matter how happy and fulfilled, say, a hedonistically oriented individualist is, without firm location in a cultural/ethnic group or without faith and

- 1) It is conventional practice not to assign an optimal value to social indicators, perhaps a subtle means of implying that development is open-ended towards the future. Beyond the saturation point, which Drownowski (1974) refers to as the 'affluence' level, further system inputs directed toward improving well-being in a particular sphere of life may be without increased utility for welfare and may therefore represent a waste of system resources. Once 'affluence' level has been achieved, further system inputs may even result in depressed well-being (for example, excessive intake of calories may harm rather than improve physical and mental health). However, it should be noted that extra inputs may well serve a 'prestige' function.
- 2) A striking example of a measurement technique aimed at capturing the subjective component in defining qualities of life is Cantril's (1965) 'self-anchoring' scale. Subjects are required to describe their life situation in relation to the 'best' and 'worst' worlds imaginable to them.

belief in God, he or she is fundamentally estranged. Both the radical and the conservative social scientists alluded to here will produce impressive theoretical propositions to support their judgements. Their differences, however, will never be adequately resolved and for this reason the subjective judgement of the people themselves is crucial. Therefore, quality of life research means that people are given an opportunity of making their own judgements about their social, economic and political condition. For this reason, alone, such research is valuable.

If the value of quality of life research lies in the anchor for evaluation which the subjective component provides, then a number of important and interesting questions spring from this. Among them are:

- how does subjective satisfaction relate to objective criteria in different domains? At what level of poverty do people experience critical subjective deprivation? To the best of our knowledge issues like these are far from resolved;
- how does subjective satisfaction relate to expectations? Do people experience increased satisfaction in a linear progression as they become aware of progress or do rising expectations accompanying awareness of progress depress to an extent subjective satisfactions?¹⁾ We have some evidence in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences to suggest that over the past five years while material conditions of urban blacks have improved quite considerably, levels of political discontent as expressed in survey-ratings have risen more sharply. In a study in 1981, 78

1) The relationship between life satisfaction and discrepancies or gaps between a subject's status and that of various reference standards has been extensively researched, see for evidence and discussion, Gurr (1970), Campbell *et.al.* (1976, pp. 14, 171 ff.), Andrews and Withey (1976), Andrews and McKennell (1980), McKennell (1978), McKennell and Andrews (1980), Mikalos (1980), but a systematic study of reference standards and gap-theoretical models in developing plural societies such as South Africa is still awaiting.

percent of blacks in Transvaal urban areas declared themselves to be 'unhappy' or 'angry and impatient' with life in South Africa compared with 57 percent in 1977 (identical samples, same interviewing team);¹⁾ and

- what distinctions in evaluation have to be made between subjective assessments of life quality in different domains? A majority in all groups will respond to the issue of prices and cost of living by reflecting serious dissatisfaction. Is this as 'serious' as a similar level of dissatisfaction in the personal domain, the family domain, political domain or work domain? Some forms of dissatisfaction at a given level may strike to the core of a person's identity or security and hence be much more serious than other forms of dissatisfaction at a similar level.²⁾ Here again, this question is far from resolved.

Given some of the uncertainty of the implications of quality of life findings, our evaluations are very blunt. We have yet to establish the relationships between the objective and the subjective, between the various domains and the overall effects, and what the implications are of breakdowns of quality of life in different domains.

Despite the welter of unanswered questions, however, our research and other studies in South Africa have shown that the subjective aspects of quality of life can be captured in systematic and comparable form in social surveys and that it is a highly relevant dimension of the social process. For the first time, perhaps, we have what may be a valid indicator of the consequences for people of some of the major features of a deeply-divided society.

By way of example, we should like to present some sample excerpts from the study we have conducted in Durban.

- 1) Research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission (1982, Volume 1) by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- 2) Paradoxically, domains which are most amenable to policy reform, regardless of social significance, generally receive more public attention than other domains.

3. A Durban study of quality of life.

Durban, situated on the Indian Ocean, is the third-largest city in the Republic of South Africa and the largest city of Natal Province. Settlement began in 1824 when the land on which the city was built was ceded to the first settlers by the Zulu king. Today, the Durban harbour which is the largest in the Republic, is one of the world's major commercial ports and serves the Witwatersrand industrial region surrounding Johannesburg and much of Southern Africa. Durban is the headquarters of South Africa's sugar industry (the Indians presently living in Durban are largely descendants of indentured labour brought in from India to work in the sugar plantations) and a centre of highly diversified manufacturing activity. The metropolitan population was estimated in 1977 at some 1 459 000 with a racial composition of 22 percent white, 28 percent Indian, 46 percent black and 4 percent Coloured (people of mixed blood). (Urban Foundation, 1977, p. 23.) As a result of legislation disallowing racial mixing in various domains of life, residential areas are segregated and the majority of blacks working in the city live beyond the inner-city boundaries in dormitory suburbs, mainly in the homeland of KwaZulu, and commute daily.

In a study conducted in Durban in 1978 and 1979 we questioned a cross-section of persons concerning their social and psychological well-being. In all, a total of 103 whites, 105 Indians, and 201 blacks were interviewed who represented people in all walks of life and in a variety of residential circumstances.

The sampling technique employed was a simple "quota" sample. The quota controls were applied only to residential area, housing type, socio-economic status, and employment versus unemployment. The other characteristics of the sample, therefore, appeared randomly. In the case of black respondents the proportion of middle-status respondents was deliberately over-represented since this category is very small in the mass of the generally

poor black population. The operation distorted the age-distribution among blacks quite considerably. (Sample distributions on selected background characteristics are given in Appendix 1.) The relatively small sample sizes were due to funding limitations and to the fact that in an initial and somewhat experimental exercise, the interview length (an average of 3-4 hours) limited the scope of sample coverage. Subsequent studies could employ larger samples by reducing interview length with reference to results obtained in this study.

3.1 Survey findings.

Life priorities and satisfactions varied widely and systematically among the three surveyed groups. No matter how the data collected in our Durban survey was organised, a clear and coherent picture emerged which presented us with a striking reproduction of differential opportunity structures in South African society. In this paper we shall review 7 aspects of survey results which highlight the systematic variations in South African qualities of life.

3.1.1 Global assessments of quality of life.

Responding to two different measures of general well-being the white group emerged as the most contented with their life situation, followed by the Indian group, with the black group lagging far behind. The general pattern of well-being in the three surveyed groups set out below will be regularly encountered in all other aspects of our survey analysis. (For a more detailed report on survey data pertaining to global well-being cf. Appendix 2.)

Perception of general well-being among different groups in Durban.

Sample proportions which are:	Whites	Indians	Blacks ¹⁾
	%	%	%
satisfied with life in general	93	88	41
generally happy	88	72	62

Global dissatisfaction was most marked among the surveyed blacks with 50 percent dissatisfied with life as a whole. Although respondents in all the surveyed groups tended to be unwilling to admit being unhappy, 11 and 17 percent of the Indians and blacks respectively, identified themselves with the unhappy faces in the series of faces used to measure global happiness in the study.

3.1.2 Group manifest priorities.

Generally speaking, members of the white and Indian groups in our sample were more prone to consider the more subtle, non-material issues in life as high priorities, whilst the black respondents in the survey tended to regard the more basic material needs in life as particularly salient.²⁾ The specific items which were adjudged to be particularly important by the respondents in the survey can be inspected in Appendices 3 through 5. All issues which attracted at least a median number of item selections are recorded in the lists compiled in Appendices 3 through 5. It will be noted that the black list of priority concerns is shorter than the lists obtained from

1) The marked difference between these patterns and those from the Buthelezi Commission Study (1982, Volume 1) quoted on p. 12 can be ascribed to the fact that in the results above respondents were generally oriented toward their personal lives, whereas in the other study quoted they were being questioned about public and political issues.

2) This result is particularly striking in view of the fact that Andrews and Withey's (1976, p. 243) explorations into judgements of the importance of concerns led to the conclusion that concerns perceived to be closely associated with oneself and one's family tended to be ranked as more important than others.

the other two groups in the survey. In part, this result may be due to the slightly greater pressure which was exerted on the black respondents to limit the number of issues put forward as life priorities. On the other hand, the results of this exercise in defining life goals also suggest that consensus on life priorities in the black group may be higher than in the other groups because basic privations are so much in evidence and act as rallying points for perceptions of well-being among the less-privileged in South African society. In sum, there is evidence in the survey data that choices for alternative life-styles and qualities of life are severely restricted among blacks, whilst focal issues in life are more likely to vary in the other groups.

3.1.3 Life satisfactions.

Evaluation of general life situations and more specific circumstances in people's lives were obtained by recording responses on scales of satisfaction. Whilst all respondents were required to assess their global life satisfaction, only persons adjudging and selecting an issue as important were required to give a satisfaction rating on the specific issues selected. In planning our pilot study of quality of life, as already indicated, we had purposely cast our net widely over possible issues in South African society. As a result, the lists of group priorities and satisfactions differed widely within and between groups. Hence overall patterns are not readily discernible. However, if we cluster our results into easily identifiable domains and criteria in life, we are better able to detect typical patterns in perceived qualities of life. These groupings of results are given in Table I in the text.

The broad results shown in Table I reflect a remarkable face validity, inasmuch as they mirror the differential life opportunities for different races in South Africa, which are very generally apparent in public life.

Table I.

Mean proportions of different groups in Durban reflecting satisfaction with their social condition, according to type of issue involved.

	Whites N=103 %	Indians N=105 %	Blacks N=201 %
Overall life satisfaction	93	81	41
Average satisfaction among all salient aspects of life as chosen by respondents (group priorities)	81	71	50
Average satisfaction with subtle issues in life not necessarily recognised as important by individuals*	91	81	69
Average satisfactions with all salient aspects of major life domains and criteria:**			
nutrition	93	92	49
religion	93	90	89
identity	90	91	77
social relationships	90	83	77
health	82	71	41
family	79	75	69
leisure and recreation	79	43	(34)
participation	70	21	40
self	69	53	58
neighbourhood issues	69	36	32
education	68	43	30
physical security	66	33	28
transport	59	49	43
housing	55	28	14
employment and work	50	33	29
financial and social security	46	38	21
rural ties	(37)	(35)	66
wages and prices	35	29	15
race relations	34	37	21

* Items include: Opportunities to experience: stable life expectations, trust relationships, self-confidence, the support of one's peer group, love relationships, and social esteem at work and in one's community. Opportunities: to achieve life goals, to work independently, to perform meaningful work, to engage in leisure activities, and to have fun in life.

** Satisfaction ratings were conducted only on items selected as priorities, hence sample sizes differ for the various items. Percentages in brackets refer to average satisfaction based on a very small number of cases.

The results appear to capture what is probably a broad consensus on social differentiation according to race among reasonably objective observers of South African society.

The relative higher degree of satisfaction among blacks in respect of the subtle issues reflects the fact that even very far-reaching social inequalities cannot affect the personal spheres of life as much as the more public spheres.

3.1.4 Derived measures of quality of life: 'felt privations'.

In order to gain an even clearer, more poignant impression of differential qualities of life, we might condense our findings to an even greater extent. Consider the subtleties of the subjective element in our measurement approach. Subjective evaluations were undertaken in two instances in the evaluation task: firstly, when subjects sorted priorities from the less important aspects of life, and secondly, when subjects evaluated the issues considered by them to be the most important from the viewpoint of personal well-being.

If we combine these two subjective evaluations of life quality: priorities and satisfactions, we obtain an index of what might be called 'felt privation'. This index is computed by dividing the percentage adjudging a particular item to be among the highest priority items for the group by the percentage expressing satisfaction with this item. Higher scores on this combined index of importance and satisfaction represent concerns which are most important but also least satisfying.

Obviously, this is a relatively crude measure of subjective quality of life. Nevertheless, the illustrative results which are shown in Table II in the text give a clear message which is readily interpretable.

Table II.

Felt privations' among different groups in Durban.

Most seriously felt needs in descending order:

Whites:		Indians:		Blacks:	
item no.	index* of felt privation	item no.	index* of felt privation	item no.	index* of felt privation
11 food prices	1,5	77 housing supply	4,0	111 food prices	8,1
74 racial inequality	1,4	110 S. African vote	3,3	132 better house	5,3
77 housing supply	1,1	111 food prices	2,2	77 housing supply	4,2
		74 racial inequality	1,6	89 wealth	3,5
		101 parks	1,6	142 better roads	2,6
		93 police protection	1,3	14 dwelling space	2,0
		3 own education	1,2	10 rentals	2,0
		64 financial security (family)	1,0	22 solidly built house	1,8
		4 well paid job	1,0	57 privacy in the home	1,7
				74 racial inequality	1,4
				4 well paid job	1,4
				35 residential security	1,2
				75 urban owner-builder	1,2
				83 plentiful good food	1,2
				15 educational facilities	1,2
				3 own education	1,2
				94 family health	1,1
				64 financial security (family)	1,1
				9 transport costs	1,0
				16 provision for children	1,0
				30 fair wages	1,0
				43 education for children	1,0

Rough total (accumulated) index of felt deprivation

Blacks = 46

Indians = 17

Whites = 4

The index of 'felt privation' was computed by dividing the percentage in each group adjudging an item to be among the 30-40 most important by the percentage expressing satisfaction with the issue. A minimum index of 1,0 was taken as a cut-off.

Deprivations are most numerous and keenly felt by the blacks in the Durban study, and involve basic rather than derived needs in life. Members of the Indian subsample in the Durban study tended to be extremely sensitive to political discrimination. Perhaps the most important result emerging from this part of the study is that whites can empathise with blacks and Indians regarding three crucial issues: prices of essential foodstuffs, racial inequality in South African society, and the shortage of suitable housing are all privations or problems which are commonly felt by respondents in each of the surveyed groups.

3.1.5 Subtle issues in life.

Quality of life research, particularly studies conducted along the lines of psychological thinking, has produced evidence which suggests that well-being is possibly most closely related to issues surrounding the self. For example, when mapping issues affecting personal well-being in three-dimensional space, issues concerning the self were found to form a central nucleus around which people typically ordered concepts which affected them in other, remoter or public spheres of life (cf. Andrews and Withey, 1976, pp. 27-60). According to this type of conception of life space, people might be able to shield themselves from deprivations experienced in their remoter or public surroundings by concentrating on and actively promoting sources of personal satisfaction and well-being in their immediate surroundings, thus creating a buffer zone of 'private satisfactions' to shield them from 'public frustrations'.

Returning to the summary review of satisfactions in various parts of life set up in Table I, it is remarkable that a slight but consistent deviation from the pattern of satisfaction occurs in respect of the personal and interpersonal aspects of the lives of the black respondents. We may say that in these

respects the qualities of life of blacks are somewhat sheltered from the harder differentials of South African social structure. Generally, the family, personal and interpersonal aspects in the lives of blacks may offer some relief from the social structure, softening inequality and taking the edge off discontent. In parenthesis one may remark that this might imply that administrators and public decision-makers should at all costs avoid eroding this one aspect of relative satisfactions in the lives of blacks.

On the other hand, the data also show that the buffering effect of personal satisfactions is far from complete. It is questionable if such private satisfactions can compensate for public frustrations resulting from the neglect of basic needs in the long term, particularly as such material bases of well-being in our own results obviously represent high priorities and sources of general discontent for the black members of South African society.

Given the dominance of personal issues in the conceptualisation of factors affecting well-being, one might suggest that only extremely prominent threats to personal well-being in the remoter and more public spheres of life may penetrate the buffer zone in the sense that they are consciously recognised as factors which have a depressing effect on general well-being and quality of life. In the case of the blacks in the sample, it is therefore remarkable that many such aspects of life representing essential services tend to impose such formidable constraints on welfare that they are perceived to influence personal well-being and to shape expectations and hopes for the future. We have seen that manifest priorities among blacks include virtually all the major institutions in life which regulate the flow of basic goods and services. Among blacks, therefore, the personal and interpersonal spheres of life and more public issues have a simultaneous and competing effect on well-being. By contrast, among whites the omission of some

of the public domains in the lists of manifest priorities compiled from the aggregated responses in the survey may in part reflect that such aspects of welfare are taken for granted among the more privileged in South African society. In their place, more frequent mention is made of the more subtle issues in life which reflect concern with personal development and self-fulfilment, family and interpersonal relationships.

Despite the forced preoccupation of the black respondents with the material necessities in life, it is our contention here, that all other things being equal, the sum of aspects of life most closely related to the self will be highly determinant of personal well-being. The significance of remoter issues in life will be enhanced or diffused through the aura of the more personal realms of mental health and only in instances of extreme social differentiation will domains beyond the self assume more than a mere supportive role in determining individual well-being.

When arguing along these lines, it will be most important to establish a record of evaluations of subtle issues in life regardless of their being perceived as manifest priorities. The figures in Appendix 6 and in Table I in the text demonstrate that, true to expectations, blacks and to a lesser extent Indians were less likely than whites to enumerate such subtle issues as life priorities, presumably because they were more attuned to immediately felt basic deprivations.

Anticipating such different priority structures in the respondent groups, we had required large proportions in each race group represented in the survey to indicate satisfactions obtained in a limited number of the more subtle areas of their lives regardless of the personal priority positions of these areas. Thus, a comparative study of group satisfactions in the more personal spheres of life was possible. Here again,

we observe the same pattern of satisfactions. Whites enjoy greatest contentment, followed by the Indians, with blacks coming last. However, it is nevertheless notable that a marked improvement occurs in this sphere of life for the blacks: the 63 percent which is satisfied with the more subtle issues in life far exceeds the percentage satisfied with the generally more public salient aspects in life (50%) or with life in general (42%). This indicates that without the welfare derived from personal relations and issues, black quality of life would be even more depressed than it is presently.

It will be remembered that due to the elimination of low priorities on the main lists of life concerns, sample sizes with common items were small, too small for regression analysis. However, in this examination of "subtle" issues in which evaluations of personal issues were undertaken regardless of felt priority, sufficiently large samples with common items were obtained among blacks so that regressions could be run in order to explain the extent to which non-material factors accounted for perceived well-being. As might be expected, the R^2 of both global satisfaction and happiness on personal satisfaction items was relatively low for blacks. (Happiness: $R^2 = .28$; life satisfaction: $R^2 = .27$, $p < 0.05$.) In parenthesis, the R^2 for similar items among whites is higher, although not significant: $R^2 = .51$ on life satisfaction and $R^2 = .41$ on happiness. One cannot make any firm generalisations but the tentative indication is in the expected direction, namely that at a higher level of basic need satisfaction, more subtle and personal issues have an increased relationship with quality of life in an overall sense.

3.1.6 Hidden priorities.

The concept of quality of life is evasive not only for social scientists aiming to measure its meanings, but also for the

people attempting to define their qualities of life. It would be an impossible task for individuals to accurately describe exactly which components in their lives made up the sum total of their well-being. For this reason, we resorted to statistically compiling individual components which taken together accounted for the overall quality of life of the respondents in the study. In statistical terms the contributions to well-being made by discrete satisfactions in life can be measured in terms of individual correlation scores. Appendices 7, 8 and 9 contain lists of the group priority issues in the study which correlated most closely with both or with one of the general measures of global well-being (cf. Appendix 2). Judging from the data compiled in these Tables, it is evident that large proportions of manifestly important issues in the lives of South Africans also contribute significantly to social well-being. The more personal spheres of life tend to influence well-being most dramatically. However, a number of public issues such as cost of living, education, housing, medical services and police protection also appear to affect perceived quality of life meaningfully among all groups.

3.1.7 Differential qualities of life for blacks.

In the picture presented so far, the black group fares most poorly in terms of felt privation, and satisfactions in the more basic and subtle spheres of life. There is, however, a possibility that some differentiation in black qualities of life might exist. In which case, some groups of blacks might feel even more marginal than one might expect judging from the data reviewed so far, whilst other black groups might hold life expectations and satisfactions which more closely resemble those of members of the Indian and white groups in the survey. An analysis along these lines could suggest the extent to which the characteristic results for blacks as a group are due to their lower aggregate socio-economic position or to conditions pertaining to their racial status.

In Appendices 10 and 11 the manifest priorities and the corresponding satisfactions of so-called middle class and rank and file blacks have been listed separately. Some noteworthy differences are detected: regarding priorities, essential material goods and basic security issues are ranked higher by the average black respondent, whilst opportunities for making personal progress are higher priority concerns for middle class blacks. For example, rank and file blacks were more concerned than middle class blacks about their ability to feed their families, about living with some measure of residential security and in good health. A tendency was also detected in the data, for rank and file blacks to place greater emphasis than middle class blacks on traditional solutions to securing well-being. By contrast, better situated blacks were more concerned about opportunity structures regarding jobs and education. Obviously, the greater affluence of the middle class blacks included in the survey accounts for the significantly higher proportions of this group considering electricity in the home and private transport to be of relatively greater importance in their lives. Lastly, a greater number of political and subtle issues were considered aggregate priorities by members of the middle class group and in this respect their perceptions of quality of life more closely resembles that of the whites and Indians than the less privileged blacks in the survey.

Despite the differences in the life goals of the middle class and rank and file blacks, however, average satisfactions among the most salient aspects of life as chosen by the members of these two groups respectively, were very similar. Likewise, perceptions of general well-being did not differ significantly between middle class and rank and file blacks and was generally depressed in comparison with that of other groups in Durban.

Mean proportions of different groups in Durban reflecting satisfaction with their condition, according to type of issue involved.

	whites	Indians	blacks	middle class blacks	rank and file blacks
	%	%	%	%	%
Overall life satisfaction	93	81	41	44	39
Average satisfaction among all salient aspects of life as chosen by respondents (group manifest priorities)	81	71	50	52	50
Average satisfaction with subtle issues in life (cf. Appendix 6) not necessarily recognised as important by individuals	91	81	63	69	59

However, the impression is gained from the summary of the survey results shown above, that the satisfactions of the middle class blacks tended to be higher with respect of issues over which they could exercise discretion and control, whilst dissatisfactions were felt more intensely in externally controlled spheres of life. For example, it is remarkable that a significantly higher proportion of middle class than rank and file blacks expressed satisfaction with the more subtle issues in their lives.

Broadly speaking, then, the list of differential priorities and satisfactions among blacks in Appendix 12 and felt privations in Appendix 13 suggest that the privations experienced by both the middle class and the less privileged blacks are essentially similar in intensity but may differ considerably in emphasis. Thus, basic privations are certainly more keenly felt by the rank and file blacks, whilst discrimination in various spheres of life may increase feelings of discontent among their middle

class counterparts. Our data indicate that the more blatant discrimination of the social structure affects the least privileged blacks, whilst the more privileged blacks experience the less obvious but equally offensive inequalities of South African society. Finally, by and large, the patterns indicate that, the social structure and perceptions of it appear to differentiate more strongly on the basis of race than on the basis of socio-economic status. The notion of the creation of a contented black middle class may be much more problematic than many loose prescriptions in the local media may suggest.

4. Developing an instrument for the assessment of South African quality of life.

The brief introduction to our survey findings above will give a general indication of the power and sensitivity of the various indicators employed in our pilot study of South African qualities of life. The results may serve as a first broad appreciation of subjective well-being, that is as a baseline to which changes in perceived life qualities may be related in future. However, in order to be more generally useful for monitoring South African qualities of life, the instrument used in our pilot study will undoubtedly need to be sharpened and refined. The ultimate aim will be to develop a more sensitive instrument which is at the same time less difficult to administer on a broad basis.

In general terms, the process of refinement will call for, among other things, the elimination of items which proved superfluous or redundant in measuring life qualities; secondly, for the clear definition of confused or involved issues; and thirdly, for the introduction of indicators which were overlooked in the initial study. At this point in the discussion it might be useful to gain an overview of the most pertinent steps in the review process.

4.1.1 Exclusion of low salience items.

In our initial attempt to capture the qualities of life experienced by South Africans, we purposely threw our net of

indicators as wide as possible in the first phase of study in order to make certain that all aspects of well-being were included. In the second stage of our project, it will, however, be necessary to eliminate those items which were considered lowest priority issues by all groups in the survey. These would be non-salient items in terms of a broad common consensus. The low priority items are given in Appendix 14 for reference purposes. It is suggested that South African social scientists may wish to consult this Table when revising existing sets of indicators, in order to ensure that new items do not repeat old mistakes.

Having undertaken this first step in drastically reducing the number of items included in our initial set of indicators, we were still left with over 100 items, too many to include in a conventional set of subjective indicators. More stringent review criteria had to be introduced.

4.1.2 Comparative qualities of life.

If measures of qualities of life are to be compared between race groups in South Africa, a universally applicable instrument of measurement is required. According to this line of reasoning, we might consider excluding all those items which are not salient issues for all three groups interviewed in our survey. Exceptions to this rule might be made in the case of an extremely high priority issue, which is salient for only one particular group. For illustrative purposes, a list of the more commonly held priority issues is provided in Appendix 15.

4.1.3 Contributions to feelings of well-being.

An item may be rated as a top priority in its own right without it necessarily contributing powerfully to overall well-being. Conversely, items of somewhat lower priority, without being

unimportant, may contribute strongly to an overall sense of happiness or satisfaction. If we are concerned mainly in studying fluctuations in perceived well-being, we need, therefore, to be able to assess a range of items which includes only moderately salient issues in terms of the way items co-vary with people's feelings of increased happiness or satisfaction.

A powerful test which is conventionally applied to identify items which in combination explain fluctuations in well-being, is regression analysis. For technical reasons, the data collected in the pilot study did not lend themselves to this type of complex analysis, so that simple correlation measures were substituted to test for contributions to general well-being.

From Appendices 7 through 9 we learn that some 30 items, which include both high priority and less prominent issues among the three surveyed groups, are also predictive of general well-being. By including a mix of items in terms of priority which all have a strong statistical or 'hidden' relationship to overall well-being, we are effectively retaining sensitive items which respondents themselves need not necessarily rate as top priority issues. Hence, in effect, we are employing a joint criterion of importance for the inclusion of items; the manifest priority and the hidden relationship to well-being. This allowed us to reject some high priority items in the original set.

4.1.4 Redundancy.

In our pilot study some domains of life were represented from a number of angles, and respondents were given a choice of responding to all or only a selection of the dimensions pertaining to a particular domain. This type of duplication may be unnecessary in subsequent work, and the results of our

pilot study will assist us in selecting the aspects of a domain which are most salient and also account for variations in life satisfactions. As a rule of thumb, items describing similar social conditions should be combined into a single index, or the more powerful of two or more items may be used as a substitute for the others. Similarly, the most powerful item in terms of salience and contributions to well-being might be chosen to represent a cluster of domain-related items. In our experience correlations between satisfaction scores of related issues proved to be a simple but effective aid in deciding which issues were to be eliminated on the grounds of duplication. In other research situations factor analysis might have been successfully applied. Such approaches were used in further reducing the number of items for inclusion.

4.1.5 Unidimensionality.

When setting tasks in human judgement, social scientists are frequently faced with the problem of specifying the degree of decomposition of the objects involved in the decision-making situation. For example, subjects may be required to define their quality of life in terms of fairly realistic social environments and circumstances. At the other extreme, life goals and priorities may be identified in terms of abstract concepts such as the major institutions in society or in terms of values such as freedom, beauty, power, etc. In a study of comparative life quality among groups differing widely in their background circumstances, some abstraction of the cues to be evaluated will be necessary. However, by introducing a high degree of abstraction we run the danger of forcing our respondents to distort their reality worlds in order to complete their evaluation tasks.

In our study we have aimed at a moderate degree of abstraction which will not divorce our stimuli from real world situations. We have generally asked our subjects to evaluate major institutions in life (domains) in terms of particular values or

aspects (criteria) (cf. Andrews and Withey, 1976). This type of joint domain-by-criterion evaluation is thought to most closely resemble the manner in which individuals take stock of their life situations with or without being conscious that they are engaging in such a process. Thus, we felt reasonably confident of obtaining relatively accurate and valid assessments of perceived well-being. The fact that the respondents participating in the Durban study, who came from all walks of life, were capable of evaluating their life circumstances along these lines is one indication of our being correct in making this assumption.

However, utilising items in a combined domain-by-criterion format presents a problem for monitoring reactions to change in life circumstances. The interpretation of a joint evaluation may be ambiguous, in that we can never be certain which single issue tips the balance in favour of the overall assessment. On the other hand, in some instances people may simply be incapable of making criterion or domain assessments independently of one another. When refining a set of indicators one has to consider carefully which joint issues should be split into two indicators in order to avoid ambiguity in interpreting perceptions of well-being or which issues can only be meaningfully assessed in conjunction with one another.

4.2 Additional indices.

The considerations made above apply mainly to the task of re-organising and refining our initial set of 148 social indicators (cf. Appendix 16) covering the main dimensions of life situations. In addition to this set of indicators further variables and inventories should ideally be included in an instrument designed to monitor quality of life and basic needs in a comprehensive sense.

4.2.1 Subtle variables or criterion issues.

There is plenty of evidence in quality of life studies to suggest that subtle issues which relate closely to the self may contribute disproportionately to psychological well-being. Such issues may include feelings of personal adequacy, interpersonal relations, enjoyment of trivialities, etc. Nevertheless, their influence may not be immediately recognised by subjects participating in quality of life exercises, as was evident in our own research experience. Likewise, the importance of intangible issues reflecting the more personal aims in life may at first glance appear to be negligible when compared to the more concrete institutional objectives of a society which are certainly more amenable to policy considerations. Hence, there is a danger of overlooking subtle issues when compiling a set of social indicators to monitor quality of life. In order to avoid this pitfall, it is essential that a relatively comprehensive selection of basic motivations be represented in an extra set of subtle criterion-type indicators to complement the more conventional domain-oriented indicators.

At this point it might be useful to briefly outline the essential value of subtle variables in an instrument designed to assess quality of life.

Firstly, subtle indicators are thought to be more sensitive measures of changes in perceived quality of life although the relationship between psychological and general well-being need not be one-way. Secondly, whilst domain-type issues reflect social conditions which support or detract from the good life, subtle issues, which are frequently also criterion-type issues, approximate more closely the personal ambitions and goals which make life worthwhile. In other words, whilst domain-type indicators may be more closely related to policy issues, and trends measured in terms of shifting values on domain-type indicators may accurately reflect progress made in increasing

welfare, the real impact of social change on people's lives is possibly more precisely measured by monitoring changes occurring in the more intimate details of people's life situations. For example, government reform programmes implemented in the field of education may increase the aggregate percentage voicing satisfaction with education in an opinion poll. But the implications of this reform may only be fully appreciated if, say, young people also feel that they are, for example, no longer prevented from realising their life ambitions.

Returning to our own research experience with a set of psychological indicators reported on in Section 3.1.5 of this paper, Appendix 6 shows that the indicators used in this study were meant to cover as fully as possible the entire spectrum of human motivations proposed among others by Maslow (1970). According to our survey observations, the importance attached to these psychological issues varied considerably by race group, suggesting that cultural differences as well as degree of material development achieved may be influential in defining the more subtle aspects of quality of life. In accordance with this interpretation of our findings, one might wish to dispense with a uniform set of subtle indicators and use approximately equivalent items to represent each component of the more subtle dimensions of life for the various sectors in the South African population.

4.2.2 Mood indicators.

It is also recommended that a small set of mood indicators be included in a quality of life monitoring exercise. Mood indicators are known to be highly sensitive to short-term reactions in a population at a given moment in time. For this reason, mood indicators are extremely useful as an aid to interpreting trends in the perceptions of quality of life based on the more rational and therefore presumably more stable

evaluations of life situations. It is generally suggested here that mood indicators should perform an auxiliary function in monitoring quality of life and will need to be applied regularly at short intervals.

4.2.3 Personality inventory.

In contrast to mood indicators which reflect short-term personal reactions to environmental circumstances, a set of indicators which taps the more stable, hard core of the personality might also be usefully incorporated in a quality of life monitoring programme. It is noteworthy that a number of South African quality of life researchers have attempted to introduce limited personality references as control measures into their research. Personality factors are thought to have a systematic effect on perceptions of quality of life. In the most simple case, the amplitude of reactions may be shifted up or down with respect to a neutral baseline according to the personality of the individual evaluating a quality of life situation, i.e. an individual may systematically report being very satisfied when by all conventional objective standards he or she should express simple satisfaction.¹⁾

A specific utility of personality measures in a quality of life exercise lies in helping to explain variations among smaller subgroups in a population. A social category, say, female professionals or black teenagers may be found to deviate from a norm of perceived quality of life in part because of a modal personality trend.

It should be noted that modal personality or cultural factors may operate in a similar manner. Personality factors are conventionally understood as causing variations within a group. By contrast, cultural factors are thought to explain systematic variations between groups. In this study z-scores were introduced to overcome such systematic biases when making between-group comparisons.

Apart from showing us where to anchor baseline reactions, personality inventories should also provide a tool for measuring factors such as alienation, aggressiveness, and apathy or feelings of hopelessness, which represent more deep-seated perspectives on life than the attitudes elicited in response to mood indicators.

It is also possible, of course, that social conditions which affect quality of life assessments can simultaneously produce trends in modal personality responses. For example, the high rates of family breakdown among urban blacks may result in fairly consistent reactions at the personality level among urban black teenagers.

It needs to be stated very firmly in this context that what is being suggested are not personality measures of a detailed kind with reliability coefficients applicable to individual test situations. All that is required are indices which can detect variation on an aggregate basis. Furthermore, the intention is not to analyse or diagnose personality trends but simply to identify the effects of any of a number of possible personality responses in modulating perceived well-being. For example, the aim might be simply to identify low self-esteem without being concerned with the various kinds of mildly neurotic conditions which produce it.

4.2.4 Personal background characteristics.

Just as in other social studies, we shall need to record the personal characteristics of the respondents participating in a quality of life monitoring survey. The inclusion of background factors is justified mainly in terms of their usefulness for making policy recommendations for different sectors of the population on the basis of quality of life studies. Personal characteristics are generally thought to have an indirect effect on perceptions of quality of life in that certain social

factors may predispose people to enter life situations which in turn may depress or enhance well-being, and others positively bind or restrict people to such life situations.

4.2.5 Basic needs - an objective assessment of level of living.

It is generally accepted that quality of life studies are most efficient if subjective indicators of well-being are used in conjunction with objective indicators of welfare. Therefore, if a set of social indicators is to form a useful basis for policy formulation, data should be made available which will allow an assessment to be made of discrepancies between actual and felt deprivation, i.e. between objective and subjective assessments of social conditions, standards of living and well-being.

It is recommended here that a set of objective indicators reflecting mainly material aspects of life or basic need level be monitored parallel to a set of subjective social indicators. It might be feasible to select basic need items which roughly correspond to the domain issues included in the set of social indicators. If necessary, census data applicable to each sub-group in a study might be substituted for data on basic needs generated in the monitoring programme.

4.2.6 Global measures of well-being.

Our conception of quality of life is based on the assumption that individual well-being can be measured both in its entirety as well as in its composite parts. According to this model of quality of life, global or overall well-being is a function of more specific life satisfactions, which in turn may be modified by personality factors and personal and social circumstances. In sum, global assessments of well-being represent the end-products or dependent variables in our study of quality of life. Therefore, it is crucial to consider carefully which indicators of global well-being are best employed.

On the basis of our survey observations, a measure of general life satisfaction using a five-point scale is suitable in the local research context. It is commonly thought that life satisfaction in contrast to conventional 'happiness' indicators reflects a more cognitive than affective appreciation of well-being,¹⁾ which is relatively stable and at the same time sensitive to changes in real life situations.

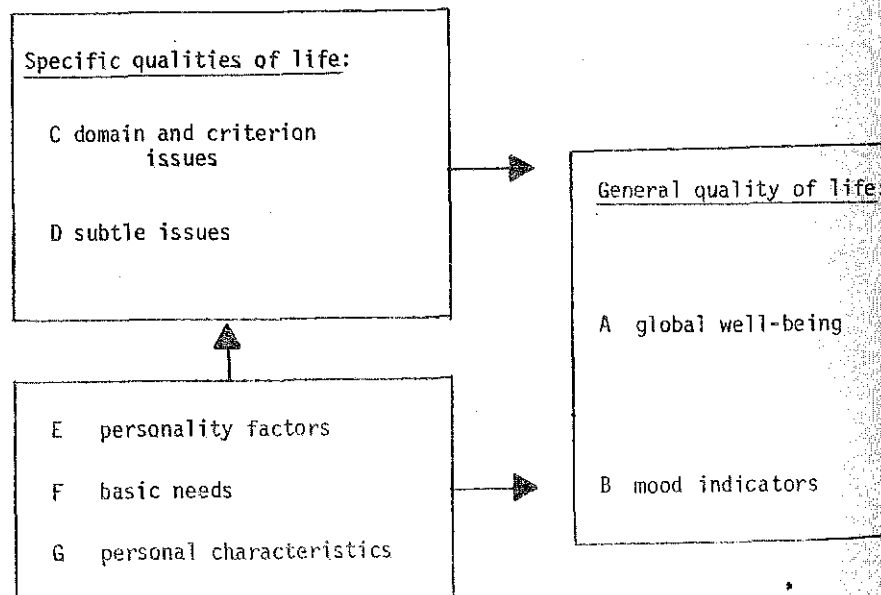
Because happiness barometers have a long history in social accounting, however, we also suggest that at least one such measure be used, even if skewed response distributions may limit its usefulness for statistical purposes. In South Africa a scale composed of 5 faces depicting varying degrees of happiness is frequently employed for this purpose. Judging from our research experience it is essential that the points on the happiness scale be labelled in order to ensure that interpretations of response categories are accurate (cf. Appendix 2 for survey responses on global indicators of well-being).

Lastly, it is suggested that all items used in the monitoring programme be evaluated on a comparable 3-, 5-, or 7-point scale. This method ensures that evaluation categories can easily be compared and response categories can be collapsed into positive and negative response groups with an intervening neutral category between the two poles. It may well be that in conducting comparative studies across race groups, distinctions at the upper or lower ends of a five or seven-point scale may be unstable and some collapsing of categories for comparative purposes may be required.

¹⁾ According to Campbell *et.al.* (1976, p. 8), "Satisfaction implies a judgemental or cognitive experience, while happiness suggests an experience of feeling or affect."

5. Towards a quality of life monitoring programme.

To conclude this discussion we should like to present an instrument which might be employed to monitor quality of life in South Africa. It is designed on the basis of insights gained when studying qualities of life in the Durban Metropolitan area, and has been subject to the modifications described below. It is thought that the programme should also be suitable for general application, particularly since some initial items were based on non-Natal data. The diagram below gives an overview of the component parts of the instrument. The connecting arrows drawn into the diagram indicate in broad outline which factors are assumed to operate more independently of the others in influencing quality of life. According to this conception of quality of life, global well-being measured in terms of indicators A is a product of the more specific evaluations of life quality assessed by indicators of the type C and D. Specific life qualities are in turn affected by additional factors such as personality (E), basic needs (F), and individual characteristics (G). Public mood as measured in terms of indicators of the type B represent variations on the general theme of global well-being. (Full details of the proposed instrument can be obtained by writing to the authors.)



6. Conclusion.

As a final comment we would like to comment broadly on a number of technical and theoretical issues which will no doubt have occurred to the reader in working through this report. Firstly, it is obvious that the analysis of the data from Durban is fairly rudimentary. Techniques like factor analysis, cluster analysis and regression analysis could not be employed systematically because of the small sample sizes in relation to the large number of variables. At the outset of the study it was clear that sample sizes with common items would inevitably be low if only evaluations of priority items were included in the data sets. In view of the fact that the study was being conducted in a society characterised by cultural diversity and political oppression, it seemed particularly unwise to run the risk of imposing values on respondents which were not their own (cf. Magubane 1971). For this reason, it was felt that sophisticated statistical explorations had to be sacrificed in the preliminary stages of quality of life research in South Africa if a sound basis were to be provided for future studies. Had larger samples been used initially, a first attempt could have been made at an empirically-based weighting of domains as they relate to overall variance or to dependent variables. However, such methodological refinements will have to await applications of this instrument in larger samples. Stability of data obtained from larger samples is particularly necessary since we do not expect simple linear relationships within the range of variables, or between domain variables and the dependent variable. Where an issue is salient at one extreme of its range, it may be irrelevant to quality of life at the other end of the distribution. This might obviously apply to something like the amount of food available to a subject. We would only hazard complex manipulation of our data or attempts at "calibration" of variables as they relate to quality of life if samples were much larger than the one in Durban.

The reliability and validity of the instrument are also issues of importance. As regards reliability we do not suggest that the whole schedule could be expected to yield high reliability

coefficients. The intended application is to larger aggregates and not to individuals and therefore norms of reliability and reproducibility can be relaxed. We would suggest, however, that certain indexes, like for example the personality measures, could usefully be refined by computing reliability coefficients once larger sample data are available.

The most problematic issue of all is the most important - the validity of the instrument. How does one validate an index of quality of life? What external measure, unrelated to the research process could be identified as a criterion measure for validation?¹⁾

To some extent we would feel justified in stating that the instrument as a whole has "face" validity and that a search for an elusive external criterion is superfluous. Nevertheless, quality of life is a controversial issue and its political implications may demand firmer validation procedures. We do not propose to arrive at any final suggestions here, but simply to leave two possibilities for consideration.

One possibility is to seek validation by assessing the relationship between results on this instrument and behavioural

1) The extensive explorations into the validity of measures of well-being conducted among others by Andrews and Withey (1976, pp. 175-217) have focussed on what is usually referred to as construct or internal validity. A case is made here for an external validity check. For example, Campbell *et al.* (1976, pp. 199-207) compared fluctuations in domain satisfactions in a limited number of cases in which external circumstances had markedly changed between observations. Notwithstanding these efforts, Bradburn's (1969, pp. 211-222) earlier work most probably comes closest to the validation criteria called for here. It was Bradburn's intention to incorporate a validity check into his study of psychological well-being by investigating a number of communities in the United States which were expected to undergo social change during the survey period. Unfortunately, these events did not occur. However, the assassination of President Kennedy immediately after the completion of the fieldwork provided Bradburn with an unforeseen opportunity for validating his research instrument. Consequently, Bradburn reinterviewed a subsample of his original sample immediately after the traumatic event had taken place and was able to demonstrate the sensitivity of his measures of well-being.

manifestations of discontent. We are not suggesting application of the instrument during periods of civil unrest since this would indeed produce distorted results. Perhaps if it were to be sufficiently widely applied some subsequent social events soon after application may yield the validation sought after. This is a callous but interesting possibility.

Another possibility is to use some index based on a proven theoretical proposition as a means of validation. Merely as an example we offer the following possibility. Maslow's (1970) theory of the hierarchy of needs proposes that as lower-order needs are gratified so higher-order needs which formerly were prepotent become activated. The process culminates in the release of needs at a high level of self-actualisation, including aesthetic, intrinsic and abstract enjoyments. We could introduce an index of level of need satisfaction, arguing that measures signifying a highly positive quality of life are validated if they occur simultaneously with the appearance of aesthetic, humanistic, intrinsic or abstract concerns.

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45.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

Sample Distributions on Selected Background Characteristics - Durban
Quality of Life Survey

	Whites		Indians		Blacks*
	N=103	Census	N=105	Census	N=201
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Age: 1)					
18-24 years	34	18	34	30	24
25-34 years	25	21	35	29	21
35-44 years	15	17	15	19	23
45+ years	26	44	16	22	32
	100	100	100	100	100
* Census figures on age for metropolitan region as defined for study not available					
2. Sex:					
male	44		48		46
female	56		52		54
	100		100		100
Marital Status:					
never married	29		39		30
married	61		56		60
widowed	6		3		8
divorced/separated	4		2		2
	100		100		100
3. Social Class:					
lower	22		31		69
middle	61		62		31
higher	17		7		
	100		100		100
4. Residential Address:					
Bluff	10		-		-
Escombe	5		-		-
Sherwood/Westville	7		-		-
Umbilo/lower Berea	6		-		-
Pinetown	8		-		-
Durban North	7		-		-
Beach Area, City Centre	8		-		-
Mid Berea/Glenwood	13		-		-
Upper Morningside/Glenwood/Berea	25		-		-

1) The age distributions for the three groups diverge. On checking responses according to age it became clear that these age divergences do not account for the patterns of difference according to race quoted elsewhere in the results.

Continued/....

Appendix 1 Continued.

	Whites %	Indians %	Blacks %
<u>Residential Address Cont.</u>			
Woodlands/Montclair	7	-	-
Old Main Line Suburbs	4	-	-
Redhill	-	6	-
Grey Street	-	8	-
Chatsworth	-	49	-
Merebank	-	2	-
Reservoir Hills	-	6	-
Sydenham	-	19	-
Effingham	-	2	-
Phoenix	-	8	-
Umlazi	-	-	44
Kwa Mashu	-	-	40
Lamontville	-	-	16
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

5. Home Language:

English	87	63	1
Afrikaans/Afrikaans and English	12	-	-
Hindi	-	15	-
Gujerati	-	6	-
Urdu	-	2	-
Tamil/Telegu	-	14	-
Zulu	-	-	96
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Appendix 2.

Global indicators : Perceptions of general well-being

'Life satisfaction' indicator: "Would you think of your life as a whole, everything in it that makes up your life, and tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life. On the whole would you say you were very satisfied, just satisfied, not satisfied or dissatisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied?" (Question asked at beginning of interview.)

'Happiness' indicator: "Here are some faces which show how people can feel about life.

The face at the top is of someone who feels very happy about life.

The face below is of someone who is fairly happy but not very happy about life.

The next face below is of someone who is not happy or unhappy about life.

The next face is of someone who is unhappy about life.

And the face at the bottom is of someone who is really very unhappy about life.

Which face shows how you feel about your life?"

	'Life satisfaction'			'Happiness'		
	W	I	B	W	I	B
	%	%	%*	%	%	%
very satisfied/happy	53	30	8	35	25	13
satisfied/happy	40	51	33	53	47	49
equivocal	2	8	9	12	17	21
dissatisfied/unhappy	5	8	33	-	6	5
very dissatisfied/unhappy	-	3	17	-	5	12
N = 100%	103	105	186	103	105	201

* adjusted percentages, 15 cases not stated.

Association between two indicators of general well-being:

	W	I	B
Tau C =	,31**	,30**	,19**
N =	103	105	185

** very significant at 0,01 level.

W Whites I Indians B Blacks

Appendix 3.

Manifest Priorities - Whites

Personal concerns in people's lives:
N = 103

Item number	Issues of concern	Rank order of importance
94	family health	1
127	own health	2
87	family peace	3
61	running water	4,5
31	medical services	4,5
104	love relationship	6
64	financial security (family)	7
135	peace of mind	8
83	plentiful good food	10
69	domestic electricity	10
12	old age pension	10
43	education for children	12
36	marital relationship	13
3	own education	14,5
131	old age provision	14,5
116	good parent	16
117	sex life	17,5
108	moral life	17,5
49	trust relationship	19,5
89	wealth	19,5
16	provision for children	21
148	loyal friends	22
48	religious beliefs	23
57	privacy in the home	24
93	police protection	25,5
107	respected by children	25,5
4	well paid job	27
112	safe neighbourhood	28
33	supervision of children	29
111	food prices	30
128	goal achievement	31,5
55	employment opportunities	31,5
8	job security	33
90	schools	34
110	South African vote	35,5
130	controlled children	35,5
138	old age homes	37
74	racial inequality	38
40	cultural identity	40
60	transport	40
22	solidly built house	40
39	accessible community services	45
92	neighbourhood crime	45
35	residential security	45
137	safe streets	45
121	car ownership	45
79	masculinity/femininity	45
124	interesting work	45
118	tidy neighbourhood	49,5

Continued/...

Appendix 3 Continued.

Item number	Issues of concern	Rank order of importance
11	race relations	49,5
77	housing supply	51,5
10	rentals	51,5
71	progress in work	53
30	fair wages	54
17	fun in life	55,5
27	self confidence	55,5
26	urban residential choice	57,5
9	transport costs	57,5

Appendix 4.

Manifest priorities - Indians

Personal concerns in people's lives:
N = 105

Item number	Issues of concern	Rank order of importance
3	own education	1
87	family peace	2
43	education for children	3
94	family health	4
127	own health	5
108	moral life	6,5
104	love relationship	6,5
107	respected by children	8,5
116	good parent	8,5
31	medical services	10
64	financial security (family)	11,5
16	provision for children	11,5
36	marital relationship	13
83	plentiful good food	14
4	well paid job	15,5
48	religious beliefs	15,5
135	peace of mind	17
33	supervision of children	18
89	wealth	19,5
90	schools	19,5
19	black identity	21,5
93	police protection	21,5
61	running water	24,5
57	privacy in the home	24,5
40	cultural identity	24,5
79	masculinity/femininity	24,5
111	food prices	27,5
29	education costs	27,5
77	housing supply	30
39	accessible community services	30
117	sex life	30
148	loyal friends	32,5
136	Indian identity	32,5
130	controlled children	34
120	fair treatment by whites	35,5
69	domestic electricity	35,5
74	racial inequality	37
30	fair wages	38
131	old age provision	39,5
55	employment opportunities	39,5
12	old age pension	43
49	trust relationship	43
22	solidly built house	43
118	tidy neighbourhood	43
21	family planning	43
60	transport	46,5
10	rentals	46,5
137	safe streets	48
142	better roads	49,5

Continued/...

Appendix 4 Continued.

Item number	Issues of concern	Rank order of importance
8	job security	49,5
9	transport costs	51
110	South African vote	52,5
92	neighbourhood crime	52,5
14	dwelling space	54,5
71	progress in work	54,5
112	safe neighbourhood	57
35	residential security	57
99	choice of schools	57
11	race relations	59

Appendix 5.

Manifest priorities - blacks

Personal concerns in people's lives:
N = 201

Item number	Issues of concern	Rank order of importance
4	well paid job	1
83	plentiful good food	2
35	residential security	3
3	own education	4,5
16	provision for children	4,5
1	urban homeownership	6
87	family peace	7
107	respected by children	8
130	controlled children	9
43	education for children	11
89	wealth	11
111	food prices	11
28	family accommodation	13,5
10	rentals	13,5
94	family health	15,5
14	dwelling space	15,5
30	fair wages	17
64	financial security (family)	18
77	housing supply	19
104	love relationship	20
61	running water	21
48	religious beliefs	22,5
142	better roads	22,5
22	solidly built house	24
12	old age pension	26
127	own health	26
57	privacy in the home	26
33	supervision of children	28
36	marital relationship	29
116	good parent	31
128	goal achievement	31
71	progress in work	31
39	accessible community services	33
67	children to provide old age security	35
90	schools	35
8	job security	35
131	old age provision	37,5
93	police protection	37,5
31	medical services	40
99	choice of schools	40
75	urban owner-builder	40
29	education costs	42
135	peace of mind	43
59	community administration	44
2	cattle	46
92	neighbourhood crime	46
69	domestic electricity	46

Appendix 5.

Subtle issues in life : Comparative priorities and satisfactions

Issues:	Rank order of manifest priority a)			Percentage satisfied ^{b)}						
Item no.	Issues of concern	W	I	B	W %	N	I %	N	B %	N
<u>security issues:</u>										
70	stable life expectations	82	69,5	125,5	91	75	68	53	43	93
49	trust relationships	19,5	43	109	89	79	75	41	63	97
27	self confidence	55,5	63,5	132	87	77	91	50	64	100
<u>belonging and love issues:</u>										
86	peer group	107	83	140	95	76	93	54	65	96
104	love relationships	6	6,5	20	92	77	79	18	85	93
<u>passive esteem issues:</u>										
18	community esteem	111,5	132	114,5	90	70	76	59	70	94
73	respected at work	65	88	78,5	96	45	85	25	63	63
103	prestige work	124	137,5	140	89	43	84	30	61	67
<u>active esteem issues:</u>										
63	meaningful work	90	110,5	114,5	83	46	72	28	73	66
<u>personal development issues:</u>										
128	goal achievement	31,5	60	31	94	77	76	52	50	98
82	independent work	72	88	74,5	98	46	93	26	73	69
62	leisure activities	75,5	79,5	132	85	76	79	53	54	97
17	fun in life	55,5	88	98	94	80	84	54	59	99
Average rank/percent satisfied		68,8	80,7	100,7	91		81		63	
Bottom manifest priority rank in respective group		59	59	47						

W Whites

I Indians

B Blacks

a) Rank ordering according to proportion of group selecting issue among top 30-40 concerns in their personal lives.

b) Percentage of those selecting item (=N) expressing satisfaction on issue in question.

Appendix 7.

'Hidden priorities' among whites - life concerns contributing to individual well-being

Priority issues which are significantly correlated with one or both measures of global well-being.

Specific life concerns:		Rank order of manifest priority	Life satisfaction		Happiness (faces measure)	
Item no.	Issues of concern		Tau C	p <	Tau C	p <
117	sex life	17,5	,25	,00	,25	,00
16	provision for children	21	,32	,00	,25	,00
128	goal achievement	31,5	,32	,00	,28	,00
92	neighbourhood crime	45	,32	,00	,31	,00
26	urban residential choice	57,5	,41	,00	,32	,01
116	good parent	16	,18	,02	,35	,00
31	medical services	45	,21	,00	,16	,01
48	religious beliefs	23	,38	,00	,16	,04
148	loyal friends	22	,25	,00	,15	,05
10	rentals	51,5	,32	,01	,25	,01
36	marital relationship	13	,27	,01	,22	,01
131	old age provision	14,5	,22	,00	,12	,05
3	own education	14,5	,12	,08	,28	,00
89	wealth	19,5	,34	,00	,13	,04
135	peace of mind	8	,11	,09	,27	,00
64	financial security (family)	7	,19	,00	,09	,12
4	well paid job	27	,36	,00	,12	,11
30	fair wages	54	,40	,00	,14	,11
87	family peace	3	,26	,00	,05	,12
83	plentiful good food	10	,22	,01	,02	,14
127	own health	2	,18	,01	,10	,11
94	family health	1	,04	,24	,17	,01
118	tidy neighbourhood	49,5	,03	,35	,27	,01
77	housing supply	51,5	,25	,01	,02	,01
27	self confidence	55,5	,02	,44	,29	,01
43	education for children	12	,12	,06	,16	,01
33	supervision of children	29	,19	,04	,16	,01
11	race relations	49,5	,16	,08	,20	,01
71	progress in work	53	,15	,09	,21	,01
22	solidly built house	40	,15	,10	,21	,01
110	South African vote	35,5	-,05	,35	,20	,01
57	privacy in the home	24	,17	,04	-,01	,11
39	accessible community services	45	,12	,16	,22	,01
112	safe neighbourhood	28	,14	,05	,08	,11

The relationship between the satisfaction expressed with a specific life concern and global well-being is given by the statistic Tau C. The relationship is statistically significant, indicating that the specific satisfaction may contribute to well-being, when p assumes a value equal to or less than 0,05.

Appendix 8.

'Hidden priorities' among Indians - life concerns contributing to individual well-being

Priority issues which are significantly correlated with one or both measures of global well-being.

Specific life concerns:		Rank order of manifest priority	Life satisfaction		Happiness (faces measure)	
Item no.	Issues of concern		Tau C	p <	Tau C	p <
87	family peace	2	,22	,00	,22	,00
3	own education	1	,19	,00	,16	,01
57	privacy in the home	24,5	,25	,00	,25	,01
14	dwelling space	54,5	,31	,01	,31	,01
104	love relationship	6,5	,19	,01	,19	,01
148	loyal friends	32,5	,29	,00	,23	,01
93	police protection	21,5	,31	,00	,19	,02
90	schools	19,5	,27	,00	,15	,03
36	marital relationship	13	,22	,01	,15	,05
40	cultural identity	24,5	,15	,07	,21	,02
117	sex life	30	,32	,00	,32	,00
135	peace of mind	17	,21	,00	,14	,11
127	own health	5	,18	,00	,10	,13
29	accessible community services	30	,28	,00	,07	,17
64	financial security (family)	11,5	,25	,00	,09	,18
71	progress in work	54,5	,28	,01	,00	,46
48	religious beliefs	15,5	,01	,43	,13	,15
19	black identity	21,5	,23	,01	,23	,01
61	running water	24,5	,22	,05	,01	,46
43	education for children	3	,16	,03	,28	,02
83	plentiful good food	14	,15	,05	,14	,05
94	provision for children	11,5	,13	,07	,16	,05
16	family health	4	,14	,02	,20	,02
28	wealth	19,5	,20	,02	,09	,10
29	education costs	27,5	,19	,03	,10	,16
92	neighbourhood crime	52,5	,12	,18	,04	,31
33	residential security	57	,24	,04	,23	,04
77	trust relationship	43	,03	,38	,06	,33
118	tidy neighbourhood	43	,19	,04	,21	,04
110	choice of schools	57	,24	,05	,23	,06

The relationship between the satisfaction expressed with a specific life concern and global well-being is given by the statistic Tau C. The relationship is statistically significant, indicating that the specific satisfaction may contribute to well-being, when p assumes a value equal to or less than 0,05.

Appendix 9.

'Hidden priorities' among blacks - life concerns contributing to individual well-being

Priority issues which are significantly correlated with one or both measures of global well-being.

Specific life concerns:		Rank order of manifest priority	Life satisfaction		Happiness (faces measure)	
Item no.	Issues of concern		Tau C	p <	Tau C	p <
83	plentiful good food	2	,25	,00	,23	,00
3	own education	4,5	,32	,00	,20	,00
16	provision for children	4,5	,25	,00	,22	,00
87	family peace	7	,21	,00	,19	,00
89	wealth	11	,25	,00	,32	,00
43	education for children	11	,27	,00	,21	,00
94	family health	15,5	,27	,00	,23	,00
14	dwelling space	15,5	,34	,00	,21	,00
64	financial security (family)	18	,27	,00	,29	,00
61	running water	21	,25	,00	,17	,02
128	goal achievement	31	,21	,02	,25	,00
59	community administration	44	,25	,02	,38	,00
4	well paid job	1	,27	,00	,12	,03
130	controlled children	9	,20	,01	,15	,03
10	rentals	13,5	,21	,00	,14	,03
77	housing supply	19	,22	,00	,13	,03
22	solidly built house	24	,17	,03	,31	,00
12	old age pension	26	,31	,00	,18	,03
90	schools	35	,28	,00	,17	,04
127	own health	26	,29	,00	,13	,05
48	religious beliefs	22,5	,15	,05	,25	,00
31	medical services	40	,26	,00	,14	,07
30	fair wages	17	,12	,08	,28	,00
93	police protection	37,5	,15	,08	,35	,00
111	food prices	11	,21	,00	,09	,09
92	neighbourhood crime	46	,35	,00	,14	,12
99	choices of schools	40	,13	,13	,34	,00
131	old age provision	37,5	,11	,16	,31	,00
8	job security	35	,06	,26	,28	,00
67	children to provide old age security	35	,03	,35	,24	,00
107	respected by children	8	,01	,39	,16	,00
29	education costs	42	,26	,01	,14	,10
39	accessible community services	33	,10	,14	,21	,01
69	domestic electricity	46	-,07	,29	,26	,01
57	privacy in the home	26	,20	,02	,01	,43
2	cattle	46	,26	,03	,04	,27
142	better roads	22,5	,16	,04	,05	,28
71	progress in work	31	-,11	,12	,14	,05

The relationship between the satisfaction expressed with a specific life concern and global well-being is given by the statistic Tau C. The relationship is statistically significant, indicating that the specific satisfaction may contribute to well-being, when p assumes a value equal

Appendix 10.

Priorities and satisfactions among rank and file blacks

N=138

Item no.	Issues of concern	Percentage selecting life concern among the top 30-40 most important	Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question
		%	%
83	plentiful good food	75	42
35	residential security	64	49
107	respected by children	58	82
16	provision for children	58	46
4	well paid job	58	45
1	urban home ownership	57	68
87	family peace	54	70
94	family health	52	37
10	rentals	51	23
111	food prices	51	7
3	own education	49	42
89	wealth	49	13
77	housing supply	44	9
64	financial security (family)	44	37
14	dwelling space	44	19
28	family accommodation	43	73
30	fair wages	42	50
142	better roads	41	12
127	own health	41	50
61	running water	39	54
22	solidly built house	39	18
43	education for children	39	52
57	privacy in the home	38	17
48	religious beliefs	37	94
130	controlled children	37	82
33	supervision of children	37	69
67	children to provide old age security	36	66
72	old age pension	36	48
104	love relationship	35	91
71	progress in work	34	72
36	marital relationship	31	95
116	good parent	30	76
8	job security	30	33
128	goal achievement	29	36
90	schools	29	37
39	accessible community services	29	66
93	police protection	26	47
31	medical services	25	57
59	community administration	25	51
75	urban owner-builder	25	17
131	old age provision	24	38
13	police raids	23	84
2	cattle	23	64
99	choice of schools	22	54

Continued/.

Appendix 10 Continued.

Priorities and satisfactions among rank and file blacks N=138

Item no.	Issues of concern	Percentage selecting life concern among the top 30-40 most important %	Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question %
132	better house	21	3
92	neighbourhood crime	21	31
91	social customs	21	82
15	country place	20	71
29	education costs	18	32
60	transport	18	68
112	safe neighbourhood	18	19
135	peace of mind	18	84

Appendix 11.

Priorities and satisfactions among middle class blacks

N=62

Item no.	Issues of concern	Percentage selecting life concern among the top 30-40 most important	Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question
		%	%
3	own education	77	52
4	well-paid job	75	38
43	education for children	71	43
87	family peace	62	87
16	provision for children	58	66
28	family accommodation	58	91
1	urban homeownership	56	62
104	love relationship	53	90
14	dwelling space	53	30
30	fair wages	51	31
89	wealth	51	15
107	respected by children	50	96
35	residential security	46	41
111	food prices	43	0
64	financial security (family)	43	40
83	plentiful good food	41	73
48	religious beliefs	41	96
61	running water	41	73
77	housing supply	40	12
10	rentals	40	20
36	marital relationship	38	87
12	old age pension	38	41
99	choice of schools	37	17
131	old age provision	37	34
94	family health	37	52
29	education costs	35	27
57	privacy in the home	35	31
22	solidly built house	35	27
142	better roads	33	19
128	goal achievement	33	66
33	supervision of children	33	71
93	police protection	33	38
39	accessible community services	33	76
90	schools	30	15
116	good parent	30	100
69	domestic electricity	30	31
127	own health	29	77
121	car ownership	29	61
31	medical services	27	64
75	urban owner-builder	27	23
147	job promotion	27	52
8	job security	25	68
135	peace of mind	25	75
130	controlled children	25	100

Appendix 11 Continued.Priorities and satisfactions among middle class blacks

N=62

Item no.	Issues of concern	Percentage selecting life concern among the top 30-40 most important	Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question
		%	%
108	moral life	25	87
71	progress in work	24	86
9	transport costs	24	13
74	racial inequality	24	6
115	educational facilities	22	14
117	sex life	21	84
143	religious participation	21	76
110	South African vote	19	8

Appendix 12.

Differential priorities and satisfactions among blacks

Life concerns in order of group priority.

Item no.	Issues of concern	Manifest priorities*			Satisfactions**		
		total	rank and file	middle class	total	rank and file	middle class
4	well paid job	64	58	75	43	-	-
83	plentiful good food	63	75	41	49	42	73
35	residential security	59	64	46	47	-	-
3	own education	58	49	77	46	-	-
16	provision for children	58	-	-	53	46	66
87	family peace	56	-	-	76	70	87
107	respected by children	55	-	-	87	82	96
130	controlled children	50	-	-	87	82	100
43	education for children	49	39	71	49	-	-
28	family accommodation	48	43	58	79	73	91
94	family health	47	52	37	41	-	-
30	fair wages	45	-	-	43	50	31
104	love relationship	41	35	53	91	-	-
127	own health	37	41	29	57	50	77
116	good parent	31	-	-	84	76	100
128	goal achievement	31	-	-	46	36	66
67	children to provide old						
	age security	29	36	14	68	-	-
90	schools	29	-	-	31	37	15
8	job security	29	-	-	43	33	68
131	old age provision	28	24	37	37	-	-
99	choice of schools	26	22	37	39	54	17
139	education costs	23	18	35	30	-	-
99	community administration	20	25	9	56	-	-
2	cattle	19	23	9	61	-	-
49	domestic electricity	19	13	30	40	-	-
91	social customs	18	21	11	75	82	42
74	racial inequality	17	13	24	12	-	-
9	transport costs	17	14	24	17	-	-
13	police raids	17	23	3	83	-	-
12	better house	16	21	6	3	-	-
17	job promotion	16	10	27	43	-	-
121	car ownership	15	9	29	55	-	-
22	beautiful house	14	-	-	32	19	66
98	moral life	14	8	25	93	-	-
20	fair treatment by whites	14	-	-	31	47	9
10	cultural identity	14	-	-	79	90	50
16	rural home	14	-	-	69	77	42
14	South African vote	13	10	19	33	-	-
14	legal aid	13	-	-	73	84	42
14	home visits	13	16	4	85	-	-
14	an understanding supervisor	13	16	4	50	43	100

Continued/....

Appendix 12 Continued.

Differential priorities and satisfactions among blacks

Life concerns in order of group priority.

Item no.	Issues of concern	Manifest priorities*			Satisfactions**		
		total	rank and file	middle class	total	rank and file	middle class
		%	%	%	%	%	%
123	tribal allegiance	12	15	4	88	-	-
125	reference book	11	-	-	41	57	12
136	African identity	10	7	17	71	-	-
144	furniture	10	-	-	60	46	100
129	creches	10	-	-	23	38	0
47	safe work	8	-	-	47	35	100
124	interesting work	8	5	12	81	-	-
141	light work	7	9	1	50	-	-
18	community esteem	5	7	0	80	-	-
95	making beautiful things	5	-	-	27	12	66
109	kin relationship	5	-	-	82	90	0
114	witchcraft	5	7	0	50	-	-
70	stable life expectations	3	1	6	67	-	-
37	admirable personality	1	0	3	100	-	-
41	television	1	0	3	50	-	-
27	self-confidence***				63	56	80
128	goal achievement***				50	45	61
63	important work***				84	65	84
86	peer group***				64	58	77
17	fun in life***				58	51	74
103	work prestige***				60	50	76

* Percentage selecting life concern among the 30-40 most important.

** Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question.

*** All respondents were required to give a satisfaction rating on the subtle issues above even if they had not selected the issues in question among the 30-40 most important.

N= Total sample 201, Rank and file subsample 138, Middle class subsample 62. (1 case not classified).

Note: Only issues on which significant differences between rank and file and middle class blacks regarding priority and/or satisfaction rating were observed are listed. Dashes indicate that rank and file and middle class ratings do not differ significantly from the total rating.

Appendix 13.

'Felt deprivation' among rank and file and middle class blacks

Most seriously felt needs in descending order:

The underlined items are commonly felt deprivations among rank and file and middle class blacks.

Rank and file blacks			Middle class blacks		
		N=138			N=62
Item		index of *	Item		index of *
no.	Issues of concern	deprivation	no.	Issues of concern	deprivation
111	food prices	7,2	111	food prices	00
132	better house	7,0	74	racial inequality	4,0
77	housing supply	4,8	89	wealth	3,4
89	wealth	3,7	77	housing supply	3,3
142	better roads	3,4	110	South African vote	2,3
14	dwelling space	2,3	99	choice of schools	2,1
57	privacy in the home	2,2	10	rentals	2,0
10	rentals	2,2	90	schools	2,0
22	solidly built house	2,1	4	well paid job	1,9
83	plentiful good food	1,7	9	transport costs	1,8
94	family health	1,4	14	dwelling space	1,7
75	urban owner-builder	1,4	142	better roads	1,7
35	residential security	1,3	43	education for children	1,6
16	provision for children	1,2	30	fair wages	1,6
4	well paid job	1,2	115	educational facilities	1,5
3	own education	1,1	3	own education	1,4
64	financial security		29	education costs	1,2
	(family)	1,1	22	solidly built house	1,2
			35	residential security	1,1
			57	privacy in the home	1,1
			75	urban owner-builder	1,1
			64	financial security	
				(family)	1,0
			131	old age provision	1,0

* The index of 'felt deprivation' was computed by dividing the percentage in each group adjudging an item to be among the 30-40 most important by the percentage expressing satisfaction with the issue. A minimum index of 1,0 was taken as a cut-off.

Appendix 14.

Consensus on lowest priority life concerns.

Non-salient life concerns: Percentage in each group considering life concern as important on initial selection.

Item no.	Issue of concern	Whites	Indians	Blacks
		%	%	%
96	personal popularity	48	60	68
88	active sports	46	54	56
102	visits to friends	42	42	59
20	aesthetic residential environment	38	39	70
72	spectator sports	38	49	53
37	admirable personality	36	54	54
84	personal appearance	31	41	49
18	community esteem	30	50	73
7	local government vote	29	33	41
47	safe work	25	61	75
76	leisure time	25	40	56
32	community participation	24	52	61
126	clothes	24	42	57
146	neighbours	23	53	73
23	visits to relatives	23	30	67
65	social drinking	23	15	34
80	home visits	21	18	67
100	prestige home	20	33	67
41	television	20	21	38
103	prestige work	18	36	54
44	business opportunities	18	15	55
38	stimulating residential environment	17	34	55
53	rural land	14	34	55
45	big garden	12	35	66
141	light work	11	28	75
68	impressive personality	11	23	49
6	entertainment	11	21	27
54	residential proximity of kinship group	9	15	50
15	country place	4	28	60
50	many children	3	3	28
25	rural home / farm	2	12	59
114	witchcraft	-	20	57
105	ancestral relationships	-	-	65
123	tribal allegiance	-	-	54
125	reference book	-	-	49
85	second wife	-	-	12

Note: Initial selection of items was remarkably liberal among blacks particularly, and the items above were generally discarded on subsequent rounds of selection.

Appendix 15.

Common life concerns: Comparative priorities, satisfactions and contributions to well-being

Life concerns:		Manifest priority rank a)			Percentage satisfied b)			Contribution to well-being c)		
Item no.	Issue of concern	W	I	B	W	I	B	W 1h	I 1h	B 1h
94	family health	1	4	15,5	95	90	41	x	x	xx
127	own health	2	5	26	91	87	57	x	x	xx
87	family peace	3	2	7	92	88	76	x	xx	xx
31	medical services	4,5	10	40	91	79	58	xx		x
61	running water	4,5	24,5	21	97	100	61		xx	xx
104	love relationship	6	6,5	20	89	90	91		xx	
54	financial security (family)	7	11,5	18	92	58	38	x	x	xx
35	peace of mind	8	17	43	87	75	81	x	x	
69	domestic electricity	10	35,5	46	97	96	40			x
103	plentiful good food	10	14	2	93	92	49	x	xx	xx
12	old age pension	10	43	26	76	69	46			xx
103	education for children	12	3	11	88	83	49	x	xx	xx
36	marital relationship	13	13	29	96	91	93	xx	xx	
31	old age provision	14,5	39,5	37,5	79	58	37	x		x
3	own education	14,5	1	4,5	82	73	46	x	xx	xx
16	good parent	16	8,5	31	85	90	84	xx		
17	sex life	17,5	30	54	91	86	82	xx	x	
18	moral life	17,5	6,5	68,5	92	96	93			
19	trust relationships	19,5	43	109	89	77	62		x	
19	wealth	19,5	19,5	11	70	55	14	x	x	xx
21	provision for children	21	11,5	4,5	79	80	53	xx	x	xx
22	loyal friends	22	32,5	98	97	92	79	xx	xx	x
23	religious beliefs	23	15,5	22,5	93	93	94	xx	x	xx
24	privacy in the home	24	24,5	26	93	73	21	x	xx	x
25,5	police protection	25,5	21,5	37,5	77	38	44		xx	x
25,5	respected by children	25,5	8,5	8	93	94	87			x
27	well paid job	27	15,5	1	70	56	43	x		xx
28	safe neighbourhood	28	57	49	85	79	22	x		
29	supervision of children	29	18	28	91	91	70	x		
30	food prices	30	27,5	11	29	22	6			x
31,5	goal achievement	31,5	60	31	89	65	49	xx		xx
31,5	employment opportunities	31,5	39,5	109	77	60	30			
33	job security	33	49,5	35	81	83	43			x
34	schools	34	19,5	35	76	71	31		xx	xx
35,5	controlled children	35,5	34	9	98	92	87			xx
35,5	South African vote	35,5	52,5	114,5	81	9	33	x		
37	old age homes	37	63,5	68,5	41	33	32			x
38	racial inequality	38	37	54	26	24	12			x
40	solidly built house	40	43	24	90	77	21	x		xx
40	cultural identity	40	24,5	68,5	89	94	79		x	x
40	transport	40	46,5	54	74	55	66			
45	residential security	45	57	3	95	69	47		x	
45	accessible community services	45	30	33	84	74	66	x	x	x

Continued/....

Appendix 15 Continued.

Common life concerns: Comparative priorities, satisfactions and contributions to well-being

Life concerns:		Manifest priority rank a)			Percentage satisfied b)			Contribution to well-being c)		
Item no.	Issue of concern	W	I	B	W	I	B	W lh	I lh	B lh
92	neighbourhood crime	45	52,5	46	78	58	26	xx	x	x
79	masculinity/femininity	45	24,5	98	95	92	79			
137	safe streets	45	48	68,5	57	42	29			
124	interesting work	45	63,5	103	76	71	81		x	
121	car ownership	45	83	63	84	67	55			
118	tidy neighbourhood	49,5	43	106	83	64	50	x	x	
11	race relations	49,5	59	90	75	64	30	x		x
77	housing supply	51,5	30	19	29	12	10	x		xx
10	rentals	51,5	46,5	13,5	86	66	23	xx		xx
71	progress in work	53	54,5	31	77	80	76	x	x	x
30	fair wages	54	38	17	61	51	43	x		x
27	self confidence	55,5	63,5	132	87	91	75	x	xx	x
17	fun in life	55,5	88	98	90	80	57			
9	transport costs	57,5	51	54	35	41	17			
26	urban residential choice	57,5	101	103	93	25	37	xx		
21	family planning	59,5	43	68,5	89	87	93	x		x
99	choice of schools	65	57	40	75	45	39	x	x	x
29	education costs	65	27,5	42	61	71	30		x	x
19	white/black identity	69	21,5	63	96	95	83	x	x	xx
14	dwelling space	74	54,5	15,5	62	57	23		xx	xx
59	community administration	77,5	63,5	44	82	25	56	x		xx
1	urban homeownership	87	110,5	6	73	67	66			
142	better roads	124	49,5	22,5	33	37	15			x
75	urban owner-builder	133,5	124	40	0	0	21			
67	children to provide old age security	137	73,7	35	-	94	68			x
136	African/Indian identity	-	32,5	90	-	98	71	--		
120	fair treatment by whites	-	35,5	68,5	-	50	31	--		
28	family accommodation	-	-	13,5	-	-	79	--	--	
2	cattle	-	-	46	-	-	61	--	--	x

W Whites I Indians B Blacks

- a) Manifest priority rank: Rank order of importance based on percentage in group considering an item to be among the 30-40 most important in their personal lives.
- b) Percentage satisfied: Percentage of those selecting item expressing satisfaction on issue in question.
- c) Statistically significant relationships between satisfaction on issue in question and global measures of well-being 'life satisfaction' (l) and 'happiness' (h) are indicated with 'x'.

Appendix 16.Social indicators used in the Durban Study

"I will read you a list of things in peoples' lives. Listen to each one and tell me if you feel it is very important in your life. Is very important in your life?"

- 1 Owning a house in town.
- 2 Having cattle in the country.
- 3 Having a good education.
- 4 Having a well paid job.
- 5 Getting training in your work.
- 6 Being able to go out often for entertainment.
- 7 Being able to vote for representatives/(whites:) on the Local City Council/(Indians:) on the South African Indian Council/(blacks:) in KwaZulu.
- 8 Feeling sure of keeping your job.
- 9 Reasonable transport costs.
- 10 Having a reasonable rent.
- 11 (Whites:) Getting on well with non-whites/(Indians; blacks:) being respected by whites.
- 12 Having a good enough pension when you are old.
- 13 (Blacks only) No police raids on your home.
- 14 Having your house big enough for your needs.
- 15 (Whites; Indians:) Having/ (blacks:) building your own place in the country.
- 16 Feeling that you can provide for your children adequately.
- 17 Being able to have fun in your life.
- 18 Being esteemed in your community.
- 19 Being proud of being (whites:) white/(Indians: blacks:) black.
- 20 Living in an area with pretty houses and nice trees.
- 21 Practising family planning.
- 22 Having a house that is strong and solidly built.
- 23 Visiting relatives.
- 24 Having a house (whites; Indians:) of excellent finish and quality/ (blacks:) with ceilings, walls plastered and nice floors.
- 25 (Whites; Indians:) Being able to have a farm/ (blacks:) Having your own house in the country.
- 26 Being able to choose where to live in town.
- 27 Feeling self-confident when meeting people.

Continued/.

Appendix 16 Continued.

- 28 (Blacks only:) You and your husband/wife and children living together.
- 29 Reasonable educational expenses.
- 30 Feeling you are paid fair wages for the work that you do.
- 31 Being able to get proper medical attention.
- 32 Having a say in the running of the community where you live.
- 33 Your children being properly supervised and looked after.
- 34 Being able to get legal advice when necessary.
- 35 Knowing that you won't be told to move from your dwelling.
- 36 Keeping your marriage safe and sound.
- 37 To be admired for your personality.
- 38 Living in an exciting place where interesting things happen.
- 39 Having shops, schools, transport etc., the right distance from you.
- 40 Being proud of being (whites:) Christian/Jewish/(Indians:) Hindu/Muslim/(blacks:) Zulu.
- 41 Being able to have television.
- 42 Having enough space between houses.
- 43 Good education for your children.
- 44 Being able to have your own business.
- 45 Having a big garden.
- 46 Having good people to represent you at work.
- 47 Having work which is not dangerous.
- 48 Believing in God.
- 49 Being able to trust people around you.
- 50 Having a large number of children.
- 51 Being able to choose your type of work.
- 52 Not feeling inferior to others.
- 53 Having your own land in the country.
- 54 All your family and relatives living close together.
- 55 Knowing you could find a job for yourself easily if you had to.
- 56 Having good leaders in the area where you live.
- 57 Having enough privacy inside your home.
- 58 Having a say in things at work.
- 59 Having a good administration in the community where you live.
- 60 Having good transport.
- 61 Having running water in your house.
- 62 Having enough things to do in your spare time to make you happy.

Continued/

Appendix 16 Continued.

- 63 Doing tasks at work which you feel to be important.
- 64 Knowing your family will have enough money if you become ill or die.
- 65 Enjoying drinks with your acquaintances.
- 66 Feeling at one with (whites:) people around you/(Indians:) Indian people around you/ (blacks:) black people around you.
- 67 Having children to provide for you in your old age.
- 68 Feeling that you are able to impress people.
- 69 Having electricity in your house.
- 70 Feeling that you know what to expect from life.
- 71 Making progress in your work.
- 72 Being able to watch the sports you like.
- 73 Feeling respected by your superiors at work.
- 74 (Whites:) Equality between races. (Indians; blacks:) Being equal to whites.
- 75 Building your own house in town.
- 76 Having more spare time.
- 77 Having more houses available for people.
- 78 Being able to learn useful skills.
- 79 Feeling that you are a real man/woman.
- 80 (Whites; Indians:) Visiting the place you grew up in. (blacks:) Visiting your home district in the country.
- 81 Having workmates with whom you get along well.
- 82 Being able to work without close supervision.
- 83 Having the right amount of good food.
- 84 To be admired for your personal appearance.
- 85 (Blacks only:) Being able to have a second wife.
- 86 Feeling that you fit in with your peer group (in Zulu ontanga).
- 87 Happiness and peace within your family.
- 88 Being able to play the sports you like.
- 89 Having enough money.
- 90 Having sufficient schools.
- 91 Observing your traditional social customs.
- 92 No gangs or bad elements in your area.
- 93 Having police who protect people in your area.
- 94 Your family remaining healthy.
- 95 Being able to make your own beautiful things.
- 96 Having people who like you.
- 97 Having beautiful and nice things in your home.

Continued/.

Appendix 16 Continued.

- 98 Having no drunkards in your area.
- 99 Being able to send your children to any school you like.
- 100 Having a house that people admire.
- 101 Having more parks in places where you live.
- 102 Visiting friends.
- 103 Having work which makes others admire you.
- 104 Having a man/woman who loves you.
- 105 (Blacks only:) Having good relations with your ancestors.
- 106 Being able to take time off work when you need it.
- 107 Being respected by your children.
- 108 Leading an honest and moral life.
- 109 Being on good terms with your relatives.
- 110 Being able to vote for a South African government.
- 111 Reasonable food prices.
- 112 Feeling that you are physically safe where you live.
- 113 Being able to be self-employed.
- 114 (Indians, blacks only:) Being safe from witchcraft.
- 115 Better school buildings and equipment.
- 116 Being a good father/mother.
- 117 Having an enjoyable sex life.
- 118 Having a neat, tidy and clean neighbourhood.
- 119 Being able to add, alter or improve your house.
- 120 (Indians, blacks only:) Being treated fairly by the whites.
- 121 Owning your own car.
- 122 Having a house that is beautiful and smart/fashionable.
- 123 (Blacks only:) Paying allegiance to your chief.
- 124 Doing work which is interesting and not boring.
- 125 (Blacks only:) Not having to have a reference book.
- 126 Having smart clothes.
- 127 Being in good health.
- 128 Feeling that you are able to reach your goals if you try.
- 129 Having more creches for children.
- 130 Having your children controlled and obedient.
- 131 Having enough money when you are older.
- 132 Being able to get a better house.
- 133 Being able to share problems with other people.
- 134 Working the right number of hours a day.
- 135 Having peace of mind.

Cont.

Appendix 16 Continued.

- 136 (Indians, blacks only:) Being proud of being Indian/African.
- 137 Feeling that you are safe in the streets anytime.
- 138 Having old age homes.
- 139 Having a radio.
- 140 Having an understanding supervisor.
- 141 Having work which is easy and light.
- 142 Better roads in places where you live.
- 143 Taking part in religious activities.
- 144 Having smart furniture.
- 145 Having a beautiful garden to look at.
- 146 Living among neighbours that you know.
- 147 Standing a chance of promotion at work.
- 148 Having close and loyal friends.

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